

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 8486

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PL

SUBJ: POLAND: POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

1. ON NOVEMBER 26, I SPOKE WITH A LEADING MEMBER OF THE PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE (CC), A LIBERAL AND PATRIOTIC SUPPORTER OF GIEREK, WHO HAS RELATIVELY FREQUENT ACCESS TO THE FIRST SECRETARY. I MENTIONED THE CC MEETING SCHEDULED FOR DECEMBER 1-2 AND THE SEJM SESSION SET TO CONVENE DECEMBER 2. I SAID THAT, INEVITABLY, THIS CONJUNCTION OF MEETINGS, TOGETHER WITH THE COMPOSITION OF THE POLISH "PARTY-STATE" DELEGATION TO THE USSR, HAD RESULTED IN A REVIVAL OF THAT HARDY PERENNIAL, THE RUMOR THAT JAROSZEWICZ WOULD FINALLY BE KICKED UPSTAIRS TO THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND WOULD BE REPLACED AS PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS BY A GIEREK APPOINTEE (ZDZISLAW GRUDZIEN, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE KATOWICE PZPR COMMITTEE; VICE PREMIER AND PLANNING COMMISSION CHAIRMAN TADEUSZ WRZASZCZYK, AND VICE PREMIER TADEUSZ PYKA BEING THE THREE MOST FREQUENTLY MENTIONED).

2. MY RESPONDENT AGREED THAT THESE RUMORS WERE NOW GROWING IN VOLUME AND SAID THAT THE CHANGES I HAD MENTIONED WERE OF COURSE PRECISELY WHAT SHOULD HAPPEN IF THE CURRENT "VERY BAD SITUATION" WERE TO BE DEALT WITH EFFECTIVELY. IT WAS CLEARLY NOT THE CASE, HE SAID, THAT GETTING RID OF JAROSZEWICZ WOULD SOLVE ANYTHING.

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EVERY INFORMED OBSERVER KNEW IT WOULD NOT. THE PROBLEMS THERE-

AFTER WOULD REMAIN THE SAME. THE GAIN INVOLVED IN GETTING RID OF THE PRINCIPAL AUTHOR OF THE JUNE 24-25 FIASCO WOULD BE THAT GIEREK COULD THEREBY "BUY TIME", SIX MONTHS OR A YEAR, DURING WHICH THE POLISH PEOPLE WOULD CONTAIN THEIR IMPATIENCE WHILE THE REGIME TRIED TO GET A SOLUTION TO THE ECONOMIC MESS WORKED OUT. UNLESS THIS WERE DONE, HE SAID, THE PRESENT EXPLOSIVE SITUATION WOULD CONTINUE, WITH NO MARGIN OF TOLERANCE FOR THE REGIME.

3. UNFORTUNATELY, HE WENT ON, "GIEREK IS WEAK." HE WAS NOT SAYING SOMETHING TO ME THAT HE HAD NOT TOLD GIEREK TO HIS FACE. GIEREK DEFENDED THE RETENTION OF JAROSZEWICZ BY REFERRING TO THE COLLEGIALITY OF THE PRICE-RISE DECISION IN THE POLITBIURO AND INSISTING THAT ALL THE MEMBERS OF THAT BODY MUST BE LOYAL TO EACH OTHER. MY CONVERSATION-PARTNER SAID HE HAD TOLD GIEREK THAT HE, TOO, GREATLY LIKED JAROSZEWICZ AS A MAN AND ADMIRED HIM FOR HIS MANY GOOD QUALITIES. BUT, HE SAID, HE HAD TOLD GIEREK THAT A REAL LEADER MUST LOOK BEYOND THESE FEELINGS AND HAVE THE STRENGTH TO SEE FACTS AS THEY ARE. WITH A RUEFUL SMILE EVOKED BY THE NECESSITY OF USING THE MARXIST-LENINIST CLICHE, MY RESPONDENT SAID HE HAD TOLD GIEREK THE OBJECTIVE SITUATION DEMANDED THAT THE PRINCIPAL AUTHOR AND MOST ENERGETIC PUBLIC PROPONENT OF THE MEASURES WHICH LED TO THE JUNE FIASCO MOVE ON TO OTHER THINGS. ONLY IN THIS WAY, HE HAD ARGUED TO GIEREK, COULD THE REGIME CONVINCE SOME OF THE PEOPLE THAT IT REALLY INTENDED TO MEND ITS WAYS. BUT GIEREK WAS ADAMANT IN REFUSING TO REMOVE JAROSZEWICZ.

4. THE CC MEMBER SAID THAT "ONLY SOME MINOR SHIFTS" WILL OCCUR AT THE DECEMBER 1-2 CC MEETING. THEY WILL BE INSUFFICIENT TO PRODUCE "ANY QUALITATIVE CHANGE IN THE CURRENT DESPERATE SITUATION."

5. COMMENT: IN THIS CONVERSATION, AS IN RECENT DISCUSSIONS WITH OTHER GOVERNMENT AND PARTY OFFICIALS, A REMARKABLE ELEMENT IS THE COMPLETELY CANDID ADMISSION OF THE DESPERATE STRAITS IN WHICH THE REGIME FINDS ITSELF AND THE ABSOLUTELY UNRELIEVED GLOOMINESS OF THE OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE. END COMMENT.
DAVIES

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